

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

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To Perpetuate Capitalism Would be to Decree Universal Mediocrity and Destroy Civilization.

The collective administration of industry is the condition of liberty for the people.

The people will have freedom when they dare to demand and resolutely adopt the right means to acquire it.

The life, liberty, property and happiness of the people of America are in the keeping and at the mercy of trusts and corporations.

The Havana Advertiser says there are 3000 Cubans in the streets of Santiago without work. That seems to be a condition that follows the flag.

"Sooner or later," says a republican organ, "the trusts will prove their own destruction." So will the system that produces the trusts; that carries within itself the germ of its own undoing.

The new machinery for handling coal from piers to vessels does what it formerly required thousands of men to do, and the steam shovel mines and loads ore which formerly was handled at an average of \$1 a ton.

The human nature of workingmen is trusted so long as they create wealth; but it is not to be trusted in the enjoyment of the wealth they create. Workingmen shall enjoy their own "when they become angels!"

The democratic party is never in want of a prejudice. It's a very good party—in Vermont or Massachusetts. To give it opportunities in those States such as it has had in New York would seriously impair its reputation and its "professions."

According to reports that are going the rounds of the press, there are 4,251 Mergenthaler Linotype machines now in use in this country. This means that in the printing craft at least 20,000 men have been displaced by this machine since its introduction.

Some one has estimated that 22 acres of land are needed to sustain a man on flesh, while that amount of land sown with wheat will feed 41 persons; sown with oats 88, with potatoes, Indian corn or rice, 176 persons; and planted with the bread fruit tree, over 6,000 people could be fed.

A Santiago paper declares that "men without food or work must become banditti." Right under Gen. Wood's nose, too. But then, whenever did any spirited people "without food or work" care for a few generals more or less? We say that men in America "without food or work" will become banditti if they don't get together to oust the bandits of capitalism.

The trusts may be loaded with fictitious values and may become necessary to squeeze out the water, and plenty of folks will probably be ruined, but that does not mean the abolition of the trusts. If a "smash" does come, what then? The real values will remain, and as sure as two and two make four, these will not be divided up again for the benefit of the dispossessed middle class who now want to "smash the trusts" with Bryan and the Chicago platform. How are you going to get possession of the real values, you trust "smashers?"

It will interest all the old and new friends of Comrade Eugene V. Debs to learn that his lecture tour, beginning with the spring engagements, is to be under the management of Comrade L. W. Rogers, a warm personal friend for many years and a tried and fireless worker in the ranks of labor's most devoted friends. As soon as completed the list of Comrade Debs' appointments will appear in THE HERALD. Mr. Rogers can be communicated with by addressing letters to Chicago, Ill.

Gerry Brown of Massachusetts proclaims Bryan as the champion of the interests of the people against trusts and monopolies. Gerry also says the people must "own the monopolies." But that isn't Bryan's idea. Gerry says he believes in the initiative and referendum. But Bryan don't. No sir! Bryan believes in "smashing the trusts," and that's a purely chimerical notion used to catch the votes of the workingmen who are coming to see in Socialism the true solution of the labor question and the attainment of liberty.

THE "RISE IN WAGES."

"Labor has little of which to complain," pipes a republican newspaper, and attempts to sustain it by quoting a report published by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, showing the status of wages in eighteen trades in 1870 and 1898. This report, be it remembered, does not include some of the principal industries of Massachusetts, and for the obvious reason that their inclusion would not have served the purpose for which it was designed. It does show, however, that of the eighteen trades which it covers, five pay lower wages now than in 1870. These trades are blacksmiths, blacksmiths' helpers, iron molders, and iron molders' helpers and stonecutters. It shows further that the wages of machinists in 1898 were exactly the same as in 1870—twenty-eight years ago.

But let us look on the "cheerful" side, on the advances of '98 over 1870, conceding that the report is reliable—probably a large concession—and what do we see?

1. That bricklayers have been twenty-eight years gaining an advance of just seven cents a day.

2. That boilermakers in the twenty-eight years have won an advance of thirty-five cents a day.

3. That skilled cabinetmakers by their heroic efforts have in twenty-eight years added to their daily wage pittance fifteen cents.

4. That twenty-eight years of national development has brought to the hod carriers the munificent increase of nineteen cents per day.

5. And the carpenters—what of the carpenters? They have achieved the twenty-eight years' distinction of a sixteen cents per day advance.

6. In twelve of the principal United States cities, also during these twenty-eight eventful years of the "rise" of wages, machinists' helpers have accomplished the remarkable feat of adding just one cent to their day's wages. In 1870 they received \$1.34; in 1898, \$1.35.

The above are a few of the advances in wages which republican papers say "ought to be gratifying to all workingmen!"

Let us all laugh!

"Labor has little of which to complain!"

Hurrah for salvation by capitalism!

The workingmen in six trades, in twenty-eight (28) years have made the stupendous average gain of fifteen and one-half cents per day—actually a little over one-half a cent for each year of effort during a generation!

This "ought to be gratifying to all workingmen." Certainly!

Comrades, let us disband. "Labor has little of which to complain!"

CAPITALIST CIVILIZATION.

The following news headings from a single morning newspaper show up with brutal frankness the "beneficent" civilization of capitalism:

TWO MORE CITIES TAKEN FROM THE REBELS.

THREE HUNDRED FILIPINOS FALL BEFORE THE AMERICAN ONSLAUGHT.

BOUNDARY WAR BREAKS OUT IN THE KLONDIKE.

FOUR MEN KILLED AND MANY WOUNDED.

FOUR NEGROES ARE LYNCHED.

THREE OTHERS WOUNDED BY THE DETERMINED MOB—UPRISING FEARED.

FIVE MEN KILLED; ONE WOUNDED.

TRAGIC CULMINATION OF A BITTER POLITICAL CAMPAIGN AT HOT SPRINGS.

TWO MEN KILLED AT PRIMARIES.

TWO MEN SHOT DOWN IN A NINETEENTH WARD FIGHT AT ST. LOUIS.

RIOTING MINERS CAUSE TROUBLE IN COLORADO.

TROOPS DISPATCHED TO THE SCENE AND CENSORSHIP PLACED ON THE NEWS.

The Socialists of France have won another important victory. Dr. Ferroul has been elected to Parliament in the department of Aude by 1,250 majority over his republican opponent.

CHICAGO CITY PLATFORM.

The Social Democratic Party is pledged to remedy the abuses of our industrial system by changing the motive of production. Under the present system production is carried on for the purpose of realizing for the few a profit on the labor of the producers; and all considerations of honesty, honor and humanity are sacrificed to the greed of the owners of the land and machinery, recklessly compelling those to whom they choose to give employment to sacrifice everything that makes life desirable, imposing upon them long hours of labor and conditions that rob the employed of their liberty and individuality, and brutalize them; giving them wages which scarcely enable them to sustain life. These capitalist employers are contemptuously setting at defiance the laws of their country. They disregard the law passed for the protection of the workers, and by forming enormous and oppressive combinations of industry, they are enabled to and do control the legislators; make executive officers their puppets, and, by bribery and unlawful influence, corrupt and befool the administration of Justice.

Against such abuses the present dominant political parties hypocritically complain, but, in fact, aid and abet them. Indeed, these parties have no remedies to offer that have not already been tried and found utterly and ridiculously useless.

The Social Democratic party declares the present despotic tyranny of the few rich over the many, is due to the fact that these few control the means by which the many must live; and demands that the land and machinery of production and distribution must become the property of all people, and be managed by the lawful chosen agents of the people, for the equal benefit of all who desire to become a part of the great popular organization of labor, which will carry on production for the use of all the people, instead of the profit of the few.

As a municipal program for the present campaign the Social Democratic party demands:

1. The municipal ownership of street railways, gas works, electric light plants, telegraph and telephones and the operation of the same by the city at cost for users and consumers.

2. The establishment of municipal employment bureaus; public baths and gymnasiums.

3. Free school books, the use of public school rooms for public meetings. Free concerts during summer and winter, and half holidays on election days.

4. The cleaning and sprinkling of streets of the city by direct employment of laborers and the abolition of the contract system.

5. An eight hour workday for all municipal employees.

The democrats of Brockton and vicinity are in a distressed condition of mind. They had a supper lately and after the repast one Gerry Brown, a former populist and delegate to the Omaha convention of '92, orated on "Socialism in Different Parties as it Differs from Socialism in the Democratic Party." Think of that! "Socialism" in the democratic party! With the progress of digesting the viands they had eaten, and after the said Gerry had torrentially delivered himself of a few choice stock chestnuts, as, for example, that Socialism "would mean DEATH to individual effort and DEATH to freedom," there was evolved by one of the speakers the brilliant idea of sending Gerry out "to follow Mayor Chase of Haverhill and explain the socialistic principles of the democratic party as offering all that the people want of Socialism!" By all means let Gerry be turned loose with his Niagara of chestnuts and the "Chicago platform." Mayor Chase will carry conviction to the crowd by showing the worms in the nuts. But really, we have no hard feeling for the going democratic party—we only want it to go; if this program is carried out—well, it's a goner, that's all. Gerry wants the people to take as much Socialism as he thinks is good for them. We are ready to go before the people with Gerry on that issue.

The Social Democrats will have to be reckoned with all over the State one of these fine days if they keep cool and don't lose their heads. The follies of others who ought to know better are resulting in dealing the high cards right to the Social Democrats.—Brockton (Mass.) Enterprise.

THE ROSTRUM.

Squire Putney of Massachusetts on the "Class Struggle" at Brookton—Greeted by a Crowded House.

THE speaker prefaced his remarks on the subject announced, "The Class Struggle," by saying that one can work better for socialistic principles upon the platform of the Social Democrats than upon any other. It is a platform large enough for all who desire the abolition of the private capitalist system and the substitution of the co-operative commonwealth plan. There can be no harmony between the private capitalist class and the wage earning class in America. The principles of Social Democracy can be easily understood by every one. It is the plain people who are to carry on the movement. The wage earners will become convinced there is a way out of their present predicament.

Mr. Putney went back 1900 years in discussing the evolution of labor, showing how it has always been in a servile condition, its condition today being but a recent development from the state of absolute slavery. The Social Democrats believe that at the present time labor produces so much with so little labor that all are entitled to have the leisure that only a few enjoy. He showed how the pilgrims came to these shores to escape persecution, especially that of the land owner, a burden the laborer of today is struggling to avoid. He showed how they succeeded, gaining liberty, happiness and individualism. They produced their own tools, clothes and only used values. They produced nothing they could not use. There has been a great change since then. To-day the railway takes the place of the farmer's wagon; in place of the back kitchen we find immense factories for the manufacture of goods. To-day the men who own the business do not expend their capital for products for use alone, but for exchange purposes for profit. He gets his commodities, such as land, buildings, material, etc., but he must also have the commodity of labor and must buy it the same as he does the other commodities. In the purchase of the other commodities he uses his wits and gets all he can for nothing, or as much for as little as possible, and in the purchase of the commodity of labor the same rule governs his action.

Labor is today under the capitalist system a commodity which the capitalist is bound to get as cheaply as possible. At the same time he sells his products as high as possible. It cannot be said the capitalist is to blame. It is the condition which makes this a necessity which needs alteration. Labor has not the capital with which to compete with the money power. The private capitalist is the man who is remunerative by the product of labor, not the laborer. Under the present system we find women displacing men and children displacing women. If this thing goes on there will be scarcely anything for the men to do but to remain at home to mind the babies. Mr. Putney spoke of a southern planter who has taught monkeys to pick cotton, being so successful in his attempt that he recently sent to Africa for a consignment of 200 or 300 of the animals, which will take the places of the men who have gained a living at the labor the brute will now perform for nothing. This is the way of the system of the private capitalist. In the struggle for profits he becomes the enemy of every man who must labor that he and his may live. The larger the profit of the capitalist class the less the wage-earner can buy with what he gets, though the product is his own. The less the profit the more the wage earner can buy. The Social Democrats hope to ruin the profit system so that they will be able to take all they produce and distribute it equally.

Mr. Putney said if it was not for labor we would all die. There is nothing on earth that contributes to one's happiness that is not the product of labor. So if there is anyone whom we find can live in luxury without raising his hand we also find he has a pull on someone's labor. Instead of having our American girls marry the dead beats on the other side of the water he would keep them at home, perhaps to work in the co-operatives laundries, at least to make them the wives of respectable workingmen.

The Social Democrats want to make the [CONCLUDED ON EIGHTH PAGE.]

GERMAN SOCIALISM.

Graphic Account of the Social Democratic Congress at Stuttgart Last October.

Character Sketches and Speeches by Delegates.

Translated for THE HERALD from Le Revue Socialiste by
ROBT. RIVES LAMONTE.

AS Socialism as a conscious, political power, is in the formative stage in America, we can learn much from the country that has the best organized and largest, numerically, Socialist party in the world. Of course, I refer to Germany. The most important lesson German Socialism has for us is breadth, catholicity, tolerance. This will surprise those who judge of German Socialism by some of the leaders of organized Socialism in our great cities, but it is none the less true, as this article, I hope, will demonstrate.

We will be inspired and strengthened if we realize the international solidarity of our movement, if we feel that we are part of a well-nigh world-wide army, that we are marching to the conquest of the future, shoulder to shoulder with brothers in England, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere.

Now, the most powerful division in the mighty army is the German division. We learn from an article by Mr. Bradford Cott DeWolf, in a capitalist paper, the New York Times of Feb. 12, 1899, that: "The Democratic-Socialist party is to-day the strongest political party in Germany. Its power has continually increased during the last thirty years. At the general elections for the Reichstag in 1871 the party candidates polled 124,655 votes; in 1881, 311,961; in 1890, 1,427,298; in 1893, 1,786,738; in 1898, 2,100,000. About one-fourth of the total electorate voted for the Socialist candidates at the recent elections."

These figures, taken from the enemy, should stiffen the backbone of every American Socialist.

This great German Socialist party holds every year a congress, which answers roughly to our National Conventions. The last of these annual congresses was held at Stuttgart, Oct. 2 to 8. M. Edgard Milhaud gives an exceedingly interesting sketch of this congress in La Revue Socialiste for January, 1899. I propose to translate and condense such portions of this as seems to me most valuable to us, as American Socialists.

"The congress considered grave problems, the problem of tactics, the problem of free-trade and protection; it responded to the recent provocations of the Emperor at Deyuhansen; it studied the regulation of labor in mines; it determined by resolutions its attitude in various questions of German and European politics."

A welcoming fete in honor of the delegates was given by the Socialists of Stuttgart. In the hall were standards inscribed with these mottoes among others: "Against great ideas, violence struggles in vain." "The laboring people must forge for themselves their own destinies." And this line from the poet, Heine: "There is enough of bread here below—for all the children of men."

In the course of the fete, "Liebknecht appeared upon the platform. His appearance was saluted by endless applause. This man of seventy-three years, who is still a young man, his hair and beard grey, but his eyes sparkling with life, his voice warm, tender, moving, thanked, in the name of the delegates, the Socialists of Stuttgart." * * * "He recalled the circumstances under which a Socialist congress was held at Stuttgart, in 1870, immediately before there broke out that execrable war between France and Germany." Liebknecht spoke afterward of the threats of the Emperor: "We have triumphed," said he, "in more dangerous crises, and we have recently seen carried to the grave a man in whose hand was concentrated more power than in that of any other man since the death of Napoleon. He undertook the struggle

against the Socialist democracy, he tried, after having attempted in vain to corrupt us and to seduce us and to harness us to his chariot, to destroy us by violent means. We accepted the combat, the combat against the police, the combat before the courts, the combat under the regime of exception; we struggled twelve years, and that man, armed with all the power of his century, who had at his disposition all the mechanical force of capitalism, as no other man had in our time—he has been beaten by the Socialist democracy, and he has been beaten because the Socialist democracy is a necessary product of the present capitalist society—and now, after we have triumphed over a Bismarck, there is no longer any combat to fear, there is no longer any adversary that we ought to dread, we accept the conflict with all our enemies!"

Liebknecht afterward pointed out the presence of French comrades in the hall. Hearty significant applause broke out.

"The Socialist democracy," continued Liebknecht, "knows no difference between nationalism and internationalism. Nations are individuals, and just as we do not wish the liberty of individuals to disappear in Socialism, so the character of nations must not perish in internationalism. They are madmen or conscious liars, those who seek to establish an opposition between nationalism and internationalism. The Socialist democracy is international, and it must remain true to its nature and its origin." The enthusiasm of the hall was immense; for many minutes after Liebknecht had taken his seat the applause still lasted. * * * "At the close of the fete was shown a group of statuary in marble: Marx was in the middle, seated. At his left stood Engels holding a flag over the head of his friend, at his right was Lassalle, standing also, his hand on the shoulder of Marx." * * *

"The welcome given this symbolic representation of the unity of the party, incarnated in the fraternal union of its great leaders was a pledge of the spirit of concord that was to hover over all the debates, and was to enable them to discuss all subjects without giving rise to any fear for the unity of the party."

The question that consumed the most time and was the subject of the most animated debate was the question of tactics. * * * "The conflict of the moderate policy and of the radical policy, that broke out thus in the congress of Stuttgart, was not a new fact in the history of the party." * * * "This is because this antagonism has its roots in the very essence of the Social Democratic movement in Germany."

"The goal pursued in the socialization of the means of production and exchange; by the progressive concentration of capital and by the corresponding growth of the proletarian class, the evolution of capitalist society will lead to this goal. But it is necessary for the proletarians, crushed by the capitalist forces of the present society, to be in a state to carry on the struggle against it: for this purpose it is necessary to organize them into a class party, a party of combat—the Socialist democracy is that party—it is necessary also to raise their physical and intellectual level in order to make them into robust and formidable combatants; and hence results the necessity of ameliorating the situation of the workers under the organization of the present society, while waiting for the hour when the accumulation of the proletarian forces shall destroy it. And thus, with regard to the proletariat, the Socialist democracy must

fulfill a double mission: to wrest it from the economic exploitation and the political domination of the capitalist class, by the suppression of the capitalist form of production; and, while awaiting this revolutionary transformation, to ameliorate the lot of the proletariat by reforms.

"These two modes of activity can be reconciled: theoretically, very far from contradicting each other, they complete each the other. * * * "But one understands that in fact, in reality, the state of equilibrium between the practical preoccupations and the revolutionary ends is difficult to preserve." * *

"But the German Socialist democracy does not represent the interests of the proletarian class alone. The democratic work that the bourgeoisie has accomplished in other countries, for instance in England and France, in Germany bourgeoisie parties have shown themselves incapable of accomplishing. The organized working class, the Socialist democracy has undertaken it. And so other suffrages have come to the Socialist democracy besides the suffrages of the proletariat." * * * "Certain regions of small peasant proprietors, for instance, several districts in Bavaria have chosen for deputies to the Landtag and the Reichstag, Socialist democrats. The German Socialist democracy, in its entirety, does not then represent exclusively the interest of the proletariat. This, indeed, always forms the structural basis of the party; it is no longer its only substance. The primitive homogeneity of the Socialist democracy has disappeared through the admixture of new elements; and in the heterogeneity of the elements that it at present embraces there is a new source of conflicts. The small tradesmen and peasant proprietors, oppressed by great aggregations of capital, are directly hostile only to great aggregations of capital. And so they do not ask the Socialist democracy to suppress capital in general: they ask it only to restrain its expansive tendency. They expect from it measures of assistance, while the militant proletariat expects from it the social revolution."

"From this diversity of elements and of interests represented by the Socialist democracy results then the conflict of reformatory tendencies and revolutionary tendencies; from the double mission that the Socialist democracy has to fulfill toward the proletariat we have seen result the same tendencies, pregnant with the same conflict. And the latent presence of these two currents in the Socialist democratic movement determines the periodical appearance of violent conflicts like that which broke out at Stuttgart."

"Divers particular circumstances had prepared for it. Bernstein, one of the theorists of the party, a refugee in London, had published in the scientific review of the German Socialist democracy, the Neue Zeit, a series of articles entitled 'Problems of Socialism,' in which the reformatory tactics were lauded." * * * "The role of the Socialist democracy was, according to him, not to speculate upon great catastrophes, but to struggle to obtain reforms calculated to elevate the level of the working class and transform the State in the direction of democracy. This long movement of reforms, of practical ameliorations was the only positive element in the activity of the party."

"The movement is everything for me," Bernstein had said: "What one commonly calls the final goal of Socialism is nothing." This attitude of this respected theorist in exile had created a great sensation. To add to the turmoil, there was the attitude of Wolfgang Heine, one of the practical politicians of the party, who had publicly advocated what he called the "policy of compensation" by which he meant trading the Emperor's party votes for military expenditures in return for their support of reformatory measures.

The scandal was great. Protests arose on all sides. Parous, one of the distinguished journalists of the party, in his protest, denounced with such violence and so indiscriminately all who had in any way favored the moderate party, that he but increased the discontent started by Bernstein and Heine.

[To be continued.]

THE ETHICAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS LABOR STRUGGLES.

In attempting to express concisely the "ethical" attitude towards labor disputes, it is not possible—perhaps not desirable to shun platitudes. One principle, however, stands out clearly, which though not new, is in constant need of reinforcement. It is this—that there exists no satisfactory moral basis for the distribution of profits and wages, either to individuals or to classes, in present industry. Either services rendered or needs, or some plainly marked relation between services and needs, might yield a moral basis. But no unprejudiced observer of our present system will contend that the blending of competition, custom, and monopoly, which to-day determines how much of income or of leisure, or of other good things, each man receives, gives, or even tends to give, to each what he deserves, or "ought" to have. The struggle between capital and labor is plainly a fight of interests, each seeking to get the most and give the least. Where individual bargaining prevails, individual selfishness is the dominant motive; where capital and labor are organized, their collective conduct is ruled by no different motive. The old laissez-faire notion, that somehow this "enlightened self interest" of each worked out so as to secure the greatest good of the whole community, is now no longer seriously maintained.

This being so, it is evident that the ethical position must be one of radical reform in the mode of distributing the fruits of industry. Our attitude, therefore, towards a conflict of capital and labor must be primarily critical. This does not imply, however, exact equality of sympathy. Believing, as we do, that labor—being normally weaker in power of bargain—has generally been worsted in the selfish struggles of the past, we are disposed to regard with favor the results of any lawful efforts which enable laborers to increase their share, and so to secure a better standard of physical, and consequently of moral, life. If, however, seeking to increase the share of labor, they adopt means which damage the necessary incentives to the employment of capital and organizing ability, we should condemn such labor policy as improvident and ineffectual.

But while, given the arbitrament of selfish force, we favor such strengthening of the labor policy as tends to equalize the contending parties, and thereby to secure a rough equality in the distribution of industrial gains, we should not fail to urge our constant protest against that mode of distribution which, whether by passive submission of the weaker party or by strenuous and disastrous struggle, apportions wealth without regard to social justice or utility.

Whether capital or labor "wins a victory," we cannot approve the strife, or regard it as a desirable mode of reaching a result in itself perhaps desirable. This does not in itself imply a condemnation of all strikes and lock-outs. So long as competition or force continues to be the only means available for enforcing a claim on wages or profits, even an aggressive strike or lock-out may be justified. But such moral qualification, concession proper, duritiam cordis, and by a steady pressure for the substitution of a peaceful and a juster mode of distribution.

Will our actual sympathy be equally apportioned between capital and labor during a conflict? This is not involved in what is said. If capital is normally stronger in its competing power, an aggressive action by capital is more condemnable than a corresponding action by labor, for the success of capital will tend towards a greater inequality of wealth, that of labor towards a less.

In cases, therefore, where a rash or unjust aggression cannot be charged against either party, "ethical" sympathy should rather be on the side of the weaker than of the stronger. But if this seems to involve us in labor partizanship, it must be remembered that it follows, by necessary logic from

our assumption, that, on the average, labor has been the weaker in bargaining power. If this assumption be wrong—if, on the other hand it could be proved that labor is stronger and is "bullying" capital, a rightful claim would hold for the shifting of our sympathies. Or if, any particular case, a definite abuse of a labor organization can be shown, the result of which is an injurious encroachment upon capital, the cause of the employers should be vigorously expounded.—J. A. Hobson in The Ethical Review, London.

Socialism in Ireland.

Under the auspices of the Irish Republican party a public lecture was recently delivered at Cork by Mr. James Connolly, editor of the Workers Republic, Dublin. The hall was scarcely able to accommodate the great number who sought admission, and the excellent order which prevailed evinced the deep interest of the audience. Mr. Joseph Jones, a prominent local labor advocate, presided, and the audience—a welcome feature—mainly of workmen, but also included many persons of "higher" social standing, and several of the professional class. The chairman, in introducing the lecturer, said he was proud to declare himself a Socialist, and he felt sure that if trade unionists and labor men would only study the Socialist position there would not be an intelligent worker outside the Socialist Republican party.

The lecturer had as his subject "Labor and Irish Revolution," and in an able and intelligent manner examined the condition of labor; explained how the poverty and degradation of the masses originated and maintained. The starvation level to which wages have been reduced was due to the greed of the employing class who, though loud in their professions of "patriotism" took advantage of the crowded state of the labor market to compel their poorer fellow-countrymen to work for even less than their fellows in England and Scotland received for the same class of work. It was time the Irish workers were shown that the class which thus ground them down to industrial slavery could not at the same time be leading them forward to national liberty. They should have done with this middle class leadership, which meant middle class "patriotism" and middle class compromise. It remained for the Irish workers to give to patriotism a purer and nobler significance; and by organizing to shatter forever the system which condemned the people to misery they could, in common with their fellow workmen the world over, establish the Socialist Republic which in guaranteeing to the worker the fruits of his toil meant the emancipation of labor, and the final liberation of their oppressed country.

SOCIALISM.—No movement of modern times has awakened or deserved greater attention than the one indicated by this title. In general it may be described as that movement which seeks by economic changes to destroy the existing inequalities of the world's social conditions. The growth of Socialism in this country has been rapid and will probably keep pace with the just causes of discontent.—Encycloped Britannica; American Supplement.

"Every degree of substantial knowledge we attain to, it is equally important that every person should realize the same blessing. If to know is useful in getting the most out of life, then to know is a provision of nature from which no one can be ultimately excluded. If to possess a homestead is conducive to the highest order of citizenship, then every man must eventually own a homestead or the civic order cannot be made complete."—J. F. Schindler.

"The instrument of labor, when it takes the form of a machine, immediately becomes a competitor of the workman himself." Karl Marx.

"The whole system of capitalist production is based on the fact that the workman sells his labor-power as a commodity."—Karl Marx.

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GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

"THE MAN WITH THE HOE."

BY EDWIN MARKHAM, OAKLAND, CAL.

BOwed by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.
Who made him dead to rapture and despair,
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?
Who loosened and let down his brutal jaw?
Whose was the hand that slanted back his brow?
Whose breath blew out the light within his brain?

Is this the Thing the Lord God made and gave,
To have dominion over sea and land;
To trace the stars and search the heaven for power;
To feel the passing of Eternity?
Is this the dream He dreamed who shaped the stars
And pillared the blue firmament with light?
Down all the stretch of Hell to its last gulf
There is no shape more terrible than this—
More tongueless with censure of the world's blind greed—
More filled with signs and portents for the soul—
More fraught with menace to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim!
Slave of the wheel of Labor, what to him
Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades?
What the long reaches of the peaks of song,
The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose?
Through his dread shape the suffering ages look;
Time's tragedy is in the aching stoop?
Through this dread shape humanity betrayed,
Plundered, profaned and disinherited,
Cries protest to the Judges of the world,
A protest that is also prophecy.

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
Is this the handiwork you give to God,
This monstrous thing distorted and soulquenched?
How will you ever straighten up this shape;
Give back the upward looking and the light;
Rebuild in it the music and the dream;
Touch it again with immortality;
Make right the immemorial infamies,
Perfidious wrongs, unmedicable woes?

O masters, lords and rulers in all lands,
How will the Future reckon with this Man?
How answer his brute questions in that hour
When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?
How will it be with kingdoms and with kings—
With those who shaped him to the thing he is—
When this dumb Terror shall reply to God,
After the silence of the centuries?

[Written after seeing Millet's World-Famous Painting]

Puckerbrush Alliance.



when we aint there he never misses a chance to practice prayin. It's kinder funny what different tastes people have for takin exercise, isn't it?

As soon as I cude, I asked him if he thought the army of the Lord was bein fed on eaned beef labled 1888, with a new 1898 label pasted over it. He sed: "The ide is redickulus and outragns. In heaven all labor for but one end—the glorification of God, and there all is peace and harmony."

"Is that so?" says I. "I wonder if it's any more ridiekulus than your astin the Lord to have his will done on earth as it is in heaven and then go out and wurk agin it by hopen it up for the so-called God and mortality party in a shame fight with their any-old-thing-to-win-capitalistick brothers." As usual, he dojed, and sed, "The trouble is that the worken people is too extravagant—they shud be more savior." "Savin hell!" says I. Then I ast Miss Smart, the skool-teacher, how much 1900 multiplied by 365 wud be, and she sed 693,300, and I, sed, "There, if that carpenter, Jesus, hed a lived here on erth up to 1900 and saved a dollar every day, it would be jest a little over half a million dollars. The modern John the Baptist has gobbled up between two and three hundred million dollars since preacher Gard was born, and if he will preach a sermon on that text I will break the rekord and go to

hear him." John Jones cum to his resque by gettin up and sayin, "I been thinken about what was sed to the last meetin, and I don't see how Socialists is goin to make better times if they is in faver of trusts. The workinmen is to blame thereselves, fur they gets up the machines, then gets skinned out of them even if they have got patents. The machines throw lots of people out of wurk, then the knavin of their stomachs drives them to wurk for less wages, and the longer it goes the worsen it gets."

I got back at him by sayin, "We sed that the trusts was the evulshionists—showin us how to do away with useless labor, and get the most goods in the least time with the least labor. All useless labor is a tax on those who do produce something useful. Yes, the workinmen is to blame, that is as sure as the Lord made little red apples. Not fur inventin labor savin machines, but fur not understandin who shud own and run em. That's the hole thing. The more labor savin machinery the better. I don't want to go back to wearin briches like I used to hear grand-dad talk about, so darn scratchy that they wud make you look like if you had run through a briar patch naked with a bear after you. I say that nothing is too good for the people that make every-thing."

"Lets snposin a hundred of us was recked on an island—not no place where you cud run around with a fig leaf, or a grape leaf, or a banana leaf for a dress suit, but where the at-mosfer wud make us all hustle from daylight to dark to get enuff to eat and wear. Then sposin I got an ideal in my hed—some people is awful afraid of ideals just about now. Well, sposin I played sick on Sundays and did not go to preachin, but slid out in the woodshed and worked my ideal in to wood and iron till it cum out a machine that would do so much work that we cud all work two hours less every day, and I wud say to youns fellers that it belonged to the hole push, don't you think that the fellers wud say that I wus

a hona-lu-lu of a feller? You bet. Well, sposin that set other fellers to workin ideals till we got machines to work so we cud rest half the day. Then we cud put in a euple hours every day makin what people call luxuries. Do you think we cud ever catch up with the peoples wants and have overproduction? I tell you that is a big job. Think they wud be any youngsters runnin round in the snow with only parts of shoes on their feet, same as I seen the last time I was to town? Then every machine wud be a benefit to human mankind, and the feller wud got it up wud be given a statute same as they give man killers under kristian civilization.

"On the uther hand, sposin when I got up my machine youns fellers had a sed, that's hisen, fur he got it up, and he ought to have fur his share what it does more than we can do without it, and you done the same with the other fellers and their machines. Kin you figger out how that wud work out? If you can't, why go down to New Jersey and look over the incorporation books, and trace back the history of em, and you'll have it."

"It's all a question of who owns the machines. See? But there's a good time comin. Evulshion of industrial society is teachin the common crowd—and sum that aint so common, what leds in the cold winds at the locality where there is nothing between them and the chair when they set down. Of course sum of them is danein around hollern hanna, some is hoopin it up to the tune of dowa the trusts, while others is tryin to do the 16 to 1 puzzle, but the fellers what knows what ails em is sawin wood, and gettin ready to peacefully capture the law makin power fur the purpose of passin laws for the people to take possession of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, which takes in the labor savin machines, to be run fur the hole caboodle—not for profit, mind you, but for use, that is, to supply all the wants of the people as near as possible, and I am one of them—a Social Democrat. We are linin up in every civilized country fur the same end too, don't miss the fakt. In Germany we cast 2,125,000 votes last year, and they have got Willie makin all kinds of dickers with his old time enemies to try to keep his job, but it won't work. The Social Democratic party down at Haverhill, Mass., set the ball goin in this U. S. A. Just watch the thing grow."

The president kalled time on me, and after sum other bizness the meetin closed.

Nancy, which is my wife, tells me that cusin Bige is tryin to take sum of the Oh-be-joyful-kiss-and-be-goodness out of sum Socialists which is badly effekted with the complaint, and that he's got em buzzin to beat bumble bees. Bige is all right, though sum people think his ideas is cut on the bias, and don't run with the regular weavin. But them's the kind of people that is most needed at the present time. Stick to political action, Bige. Well so long.

Yours to the end

JONAS HARRISON,
Puckerbrush, Ohio.

Between Caesar and Jesus.

By George D. Herron, D. D. One volume, 36 mo. 276 pages, cloth, 75c; paper, 40c. T. V. Crowell & Co., New York and Boston. Orders filled by Theodore Debs, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

This volume contains a series of eight lectures delivered in Chicago before crowded and enthusiastic audiences. The work is designed to show the relation of the christian conscience to the economic problem and the social system. Dr. Herron is intensely earnest and his arraignment of modern civilization and conventional christianity as responsible for most of the terrible evils that crush the vast majority of men is couched in language of burning and indignant eloquence. His own creed is short and may be almost summed up in the word "Love." He attacks trusts and monopolies, taxes and private ownership of land; he shows how helpless a single person is to resist the evil of railway tyranny, but he believes that the national conscience is awakening and that the time will come, and that speedily, when many of these gigantic oppressions shall cease.

Social Democratic Party Platform

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

The Social Democratic Party of America does not hope for the establishment of social order through the increase of misery, but on the contrary expects its coming through the determined, united efforts of the workers of both city and country to gain and use the political power to that end. In view of this we adopt the following platform for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those in the city:

1. No more public land to be sold, but to be utilized by the United States or the state directly for the public benefit, or leased to farmers in small parcels of not over 640 acres, the state to make strict regulations as to improvement and cultivation. Forests and waterways to be put under direct control of the nation.

2. Construction of grain elevators, magazines and cold storage buildings by the nation, to be used by the farmers at cost.

3. The postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone services to be united, that every post and railroad station shall also be a telegraph and telephone center. Telephone service for farmers, as for residents of cities, to be at cost.

4. A uniform postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads.

5. Public credit to be at the disposal of counties and towns for the improvement of roads and soil and for irrigation and drainage.

S. D. P. AND TRADES UNIONISM.

"Whereas, We hold the trade union movement to be indispensable to the working people under the prevailing industrial system in their struggle for the improvement of their conditions, as well as for the final abolition of the wage system; we further recognize the urgent need of thorough organization among the workers; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we commend an honest co-operation to that end by the members of the Social Democratic Party of America, by becoming members of the unions in their respective trades or callings, or of the Federal Labor Unions, and strive to organize all such trades as have heretofore not been organized and assist the organization of labor in every way possible;

"Resolved, That in order to more effectively resist the encroachments upon labor we advise organized labor to combine into national and international unions, pledging ourselves to extend to them all possible assistance to accomplish this end.

"Resolved, That we reaffirm the truth expressed in the proceedings of the International Labor Congress, held in London in August, 1896, that while it is absolutely necessary for the working people to make use of the political power in order to secure and enforce the demands of labor, yet differences of political views held by members of the labor organizations should not be a reason for separate organization in the economic struggle, causing dissensions and disruptions.

"Resolved, That we consider strikes and boycotts as historically necessary weapons to obtain the demands of trades unionism; we further recognize in the union label an important factor in strengthening the power of organization, and educating the public to demonstrate in a practical way its sympathy and assistance to the cause of labor; and we therefore indorse all the labels of the bona fide trades unions, earnestly recommending to the membership of the Social Democratic Party of America to patronize only such concerns selling products bearing the same.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS,

—BY THE—

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

EXECUTIVE BOARD:

JESSE COX, CHAIRMAN. SEYMOUR STEDMAN, SECRETARY.
EUGENE V. DEBS, VICTOR L. BERGER, FREDERIC HEATH.

National Secretary-Treasurer--THEODORE DEBS, 126 Washington St., Chicago, Ill
EDITOR--A. S. EDWARDS.

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BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS, U.S.



SATURDAY, MAR. 25, 1899

THE HERALD

Can be obtained at the following News Stands in Boston:
Brigham's Restaurant News Stand, (Sibley's), 642 Washington St.
Mahoney's Car, Harrison Ave. and Wash. St.
Cohen's Columbia Book Store, 335 Washington St.
J. C. Treanor, 1085 Washington St.
E. P. Lindsey, 1357 Washington St.
W. H. Smith, 1575 Washington St.

EDITOR'S TIME SAVERS.

F. S.—You know that the published statement is a lie; we know it and so do Socialists generally throughout the country. The fellow who gave currency to the statement knew it was a pure fabrication; so that there is a remarkable unanimity all around. Let us not disturb it by fruitless discussion.

J. H. E.—The paragraph you saw in this papersaid that H. N. Casson had "retired" from the Russian colony and the editorship of the paper, and that is true. Yes, I meant to be understood that he has "retired" and will not return.

M. H.—Read the resolution adopted by the National Executive Board which appears in this number.

A National Conference.

The following resolution is reported from the National Executive Board:

Whereas, circumstances which were unforeseen at the time the present constitution of the Social Democratic Party was framed, have rendered some of the provisions of the said constitution, and especially that providing for the choosing of the Executive Board, impracticable of operation, and

Whereas, it is desirable that the members of said National Executive Board should at all times be in accord with the object of the party and its will, therefore be it

Resolved, that a conference of the Social Democratic Party be held. That two members from each State be selected by the branches of the respective States to act in conjunction with the National Executive Board; such conference to be held on the 6th and 7th day of July, 1899, at the office of the National Headquarters in Chicago, Ill., for the purpose of proposing and submitting to a referendum vote of the branches a constitution for the party, and also fixing the time and place for the next national convention.

From Far-off Africa.

The following letter received by Comrade Debs, which is self-explanatory, is another evidence of the universal interest in our party and its work:

Durban, Natal, South Africa.
Feb. 2, 1899.

Mr. Eugene V. Debs,

Dear Comrade:—Would you kindly favor me with particulars regarding the S. D. P. of America, its objects and aims, methods, rules, articles of association, charter, subscriptions, etc., for guidance in the formation of a similar society here and specimens of explanatory literature for propagandist purposes.

Apologizing for this encroachment upon your generosity and thanking you in anticipation of your kind favors, I am, dear comrade,

Yours in the cause of humanity
W. H. PRITCHARD.

The following resolution was adopted at the great international peace meeting on March 8th at St. James hall, London: "This meeting declares that the solidarity and fraternity of the workers of all civilized countries on the lines of International Socialism constitute the only hope of permanent peace among the peoples, and adjures the industrial classes everywhere to drop all antagonism to their fellows of other nationalities, and to combine in a vigorous attack upon their worst enemies, the landlords and capitalists at home."

Time's Swift Changes.

"It is an awful thing to be poor," said a well known pastor of our city in conversation with the writer and a few minutes later he repeated the statement with marked intensity of feeling as he referred to the unfortunate experiences of a friend.

"If I had a son, I would neither know what to educate him for, nor what kind of business to advise him to enter," said one of our most intelligent and successful young business men some months ago.

Both the above statements are freighted with grave import. There was a time when a few thousand, or even a few hundred, dollars would give the average man a good start in business, with a fair certainty of a competency in old age as a result of faithful endeavor. But times have swiftly changed. The field is no longer open to those possessing small capital. The bitter struggle occasioned by intensifying competition has made plain the fact that "Competition" is not the life of trade. Sickly seasons of semi-prosperity for a part of the so-called business world, surely followed by fire-smoke-and-water sales, bankrupt sales, closing out sales, lottery sales, and scheme sales of every description, utterly refute the thoughtless cries of "prosperity" which have become the stock-in-trade of the average politician when his particular party is in power, and are echoed by the uninformed and careless anywhere. A pile of gold in the national treasury, a flurry in the gambling den on Wall street, and empty pockets with lack of employment among the masses, can be construed to mean prosperity only by those who, having eyes and ears, neither see nor hear, or are dishonest.

The eyes of "keen, shrewd" business men have been opened to the necessity and possibilities of "combination," and now vast aggregations of capital in the hands of the few rapidly driving the small business men to the wall. Thousands of dollars can no longer successfully compete with the millions controlled by syndicates. Scores of gigantic trusts, capitalized at sums varying from a million to two hundred millions, each practically controlling the production and distribution of its special class of goods, are leading the rapid march of private monopoly, which in a few short years will have blotted out, forever, the vaunted "competition" of former times and have recently driven the small employers which is the middle class of business men, into the ranks of those employed by the trusts, or into the ever-growing army of unemployed. The middle class is passing rapidly away. Its disappearance will be equivalent to taking the buffer from between the flint and steel. No prophet is needed to forecast the result. The issue must be met calmly, rationally, with logical remedies, or history will record another revolution of blood.

There may be those who will smile as they read these words, and who place the crisis in the dim distant future; but smiles have little power to check the forces of industrial evolution, and indisputable evidences point to a crisis near at hand. In the one short year of 1898 not less than ninety trusts were organized with a combined capital of over one thousand million dollars. The present year will far exceed this record, and already more than one half the money in business in this country is owned or controlled by trusts and combinations of a similar nature. No kind of business will be overlooked. Vast sums of money are continually seeking investment. The march of combination will soon swallow up all competition, and the power of private monopoly will become complete except the people demand their free born rights.—W. P. Porter.

"While the competitive system still holds the field, we have good grounds for thinking that it would pass away, and is passing away.—Kirkup.

"We must ever remember that Socialism claims to represent the aspirations after a better life of the toiling and suffering millions of the human race."—Kirkup.

EASTER'S MESSAGE.

[Written for THE HERALD]

A LL hail to Summer's coming reign,
Amid the shady bowers,
Returning choirs of birds proclaim
The birthday of the flowers.

The Summer-life has fled the tomb,
And spurned its shroud of snow;
The tears of Winter fall, and make
A thousand streamlets flow.

All nature, breaking icy chains
The old earth blooms with new-born life—
What means the Spring to you?

Does Spring bring promise to the flowers,
And no new life to men?
Must we still live the wintry lives
Of slavish toil again.

Deep in the cavern of the rock,
Eternal snow is found;
And frozen lives shall walk our streets
In pain the whole year round.

Are we no better than the weeds
That blossom into life,
That we must wait, through summer hours
The same industrial strife?

Our manhood's energy lies dead
In labor's sepulchre—
Shall no brave man with bold essay,
The stone of mammon stir?

Arise, ye men of stalwart arm!
Rising on the bands that bind!
And in this joyous Eastertime
A new-born freedom find.

Let Easter speak of risen life,
In man, as well as weed,
Prophetic of that nobler song,
The anthem of the Freed.

—MERLIN.

Valuable Work.

To the Massachusetts comrades:—A letter was received by Comrade Chase a few weeks ago from a man who had spent the last three years in Germany, and had there become interested in the Social Democratic movement. He wrote: "Returning to this country I find that the Socialist movement here has made great progress, and I write to ask you for a brief sketch of the history of the Social Democratic party. When and by whom was it founded—is it a national party—what are its principles and what success has it had? Is it in any way connected with the Socialist Labor party?" As this letter is a fair sample of dozens that are being received by our comrades, we took it as indicating a demand in Massachusetts for reliable information about our party.

The State committee therefore at its last meeting decided to issue a leaflet to meet the demand, answering the above questions, and giving such other information concerning the party as would be likely to be desired by parties becoming interested in the Socialist movement.

The leaflet is now ready and can be obtained from our literary agent, Mrs. Konikow, 1043 Washington street, Boston, at 30 cents a hundred.

Application blanks and membership cards have also been prepared and can be had from the secretary. They will be furnished to the branches at cost. The cards at 50 cents a hundred and the application blanks at 20 cents a hundred. I understand that some of our members have not yet received their membership cards. Permit me to suggest that every member, no matter when he joined, who does not already hold one should see that he gets one.

It was also decided at the suggestion of our Holyoke Branch that the State committee recommend to the branches the advisability of advertising their meetings in the "branch notices" column of THE HERALD.

The next meeting of the State committee will be held, Saturday, April 1, at 7:30 p. m., at 1043 Washington street, Boston. Will members of the committee please accept this notice and bear it in mind.

MARGARET HAYLE,
Secretary State Committee.

CHICAGO CITY TICKET.

Candidates of the Social Democratic Party—Spring Election, 1899.

For Mayor—Thomas G. Kerwin.
For City Clerk—Charles A. Harrison.

For City Attorney—Charles H. Soelke.

For City Treasurer—Jacob Winnen.

Candidates for Aldermen in the 8th, 9th and 10th Wards have been nominated as follows:

Eighth Ward—John Baumel.
Ninth Ward—Vaclau Mudra.
Tenth Ward—George Koop and Emanuel Layer.

That the Chicago comrades have a tremendous task on their hands may well be believed, when it is understood that it was necessary to have over 7500 names on the petition.

"NOW FOR THE FALL ELECTION!"

Again—hurrah for Massachusetts! This time it is hats off to Amesbury, with her Social Democratic selectman, Comrade Jason Spofford.

In Whitman, while our comrades did not succeed in landing any of their candidates, they made a showing to be proud of, polling 40 per cent of the total vote cast and succeeded in having an order adopted providing for 8 hours and \$2 a day for work on the highways. This result is notable when you consider that the branch was organized only last November with ten members, and that Whitman is down pretty close to Plymouth Rock, and has almost no "foreign element" at all. This new victory has stirred the blood of our comrades here, and they are saying one to another, with eyes that flash with hope and purpose, "Now for the fall election!"

We have our program of what we intend to do all mapped out. It will take lots of good hard work, but, bless you, look at the working force we have. When you think what we accomplished last year with scattered and discouraged forces hastily called together and preparing for action at last moment, with no money at all to start with, and even our name to make, what can we do this year? Last year the reorganization had disrupted our regular state committee and cut us off from our base of supplies in many places.

This year we have a state committee composed of twelve of our most active members; we have a real living state organization, a body of members in close touch and perfect sympathy, working for the same end, and we will have some money in the treasury to begin with. Last year our popular and eloquent representative on Beacon Hill was only Councilman Carey of Haverhill. Mayor Chase was in a grocery store and had not begun to speak in public. Comrade Porter was new to the Socialist platform. This year, in addition to these, our three principal drawing cards, we will have a lot of new speakers and writers. Councilman Gillen and Representative Seates are developing rapidly as speakers. Eugene Hough, whose articles in the Appeal to Reason and THE HERALD we have all read, is a charter member of the new branch at Newton. Rev. McCartney has joined the branch at Rockland. Brockton has a number of local speakers. A. W. Barr of the Worcester branch is a first-class lecturer on scientific Socialism. The indefatigable Gordon is near enough to come down and help us once in a while, when he can be spared from his own state; and we have with us this year that veteran of many Socialist campaigns, Comrade S. E. Putney. And, last but not by any means least, unseen, yet pervading all, looking after the million of details that go to make up success, planning and executing, seeing that everything runs smoothly and forgetting nothing, there is Comrade Antonie Konikow, with the heart of a brave true woman and the head of a statesman.

This is only a partial inventory. Our possessions are being added to every day. And, what with the prestige given us by having first Socialist mayors and representatives and aldermen to address our meetings, and the momentum imparted to the movement by its splendid start, we have only to keep right on as we are now doing in order to land just where we want to next fall. BOSTON.

HANDS ACROSS THE SEA.

Would you like to correspond with a British comrade, of the same trade, profession, pursuit or study, or with a view to a knowledge of the Social Democratic and labor methods and progress in Great Britain? Send us your name and address trade, etc., and we will introduce you to a desirable correspondent. To cover cost of exchange etc. send International money order for 50 cents payable to H. M. Reade, 95 Charlotte St. Hightown, Manchester, England.

WANTED: Copies of the Social Democratic, Vol. IV, Nos. 18, 21, 22, 23, and Vol. V, 17 and 24, to complete a file.
FREDERIC HEATH,
612 Broadway, Milwaukee, Wis.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 2c per month.

Colorado.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 175 California street, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 120 Washington street.

Connecticut.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday in the month, at St. George's Hall, 805 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 3 p. m. New Haven, Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 163 Franklin street.

Illinois.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thos. Kirwin, Secretary.

Indiana.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reichel's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis, J. M. Secretary.

Massachusetts.

Branch 6, Lynn, Mass., holds business meeting first Sunday of each month, at 12 o'clock, noon, at W. C. T. U. Hall, corner Church and Washington streets. Notice of agitation meetings will appear in The Herald and local papers. Public invited.

Branch 9, (Mass) Brockton, meets Sunday at 11 a. m. in Cutters Hall, Clark's block, cor. Main and Centre streets. Every member expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 20 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 191 Webster st., Sec.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springfield Turner Hall, Organizer, Louis Scholer, 121 High street; Secretary, H. Schlichting, 30 Fames street.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m. at 104 Washington street, Boston. All communications and moneys intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the Secretary, Margaret Halle, 1 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

Missouri.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. at Room 7, International Bank Building, 20 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 306 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street. Secretary, Albert E. Henderson, 425 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., at 1223 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. F. Haussler, 1223 N. Broadway.

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2nd Mo.) meets every Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3rd Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langford, 3130 Tennessee ave.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every 21st and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Rhine Hall, 13th and Myer, 3004 Indiana avenue. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3004 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 21st and 4th Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at V.H.'s Hall, Broadway and Keokuk sts. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 324 Michigan avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 430 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenhal, 357 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 15th and Monroe streets. Organizer, H. J. Steigerwalt, 111 Chamber street.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union ave., Kansas City. E. Storz, 1300 W. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Twentieth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 1017 Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 350 St. Ferdinand ave.

New York.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets 2d and 4th Thursday of each month at 209 N. Broadway. A. Guyer, 23 Clinton street, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New York, meets at William Morris Forward Club Rooms, 167 Forsyth st. Business meetings second and fourth Tuesdays. Discussion meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month, New York City. Secretary, Louis Pliewsky, 257 East 12th st.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor," 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, Secretary, 321 Madison st.

Branch 3, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 34 E. 54th st. L. Funcke, 239 E. 54th st., Sec.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 232 Hewes street, meets 1st and 3d Thursday's at 1:15 sharp. All persons interested in Socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. H. Schuber, 232 Hewes st., Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York, (24th Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursday's of each month at Paulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary H. Hoppe, 325 E. 50th street.

Ohio.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in O'Brien's Hall, 15 York streets, second and fourth Sundays, at 3 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Pennsylvania.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Sunday at 7:30 south Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 9 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m., Funk hall, 24th and Josephine sts. President W. W. W. 241 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. W. 2415 June st.

Well Done, Exeter.

We organized a branch here of the S. D. P. Feb. 18, 1899, less than a month ago. We now have 31 members. About two weeks ago we nominated a board of selectmen to run against the republicans who have run things here in the past as they pleased for many years. The town is a republican stronghold in this state. Mayor Chase of Haverhill, Mass., spoke here a few weeks ago. We had a rally last Saturday evening and Comrades Stewart and Tebbetts gave the voters a talk and I am happy to state that out of 552 votes cast for selectmen, there were 137 straight Social Democratic votes, with an additional 96 for Comrade Stewart that came from the firemen, they being soured on one of the republican candidates. We have already opened the next campaign with Comrade James F. Carey, representative from Haverhill, on the platform of the town hall, and he gave them straight goods. The man who says that the cause for which we are making sacrifices is not growing in our old conservative town misstates the case.

GEO. B. HOITT.

Resolutions from Milwaukee.

At the regular March meeting of the Milwaukee Central Committee at which all the branches of the city were well represented, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, it being proposed by some branches of the country to hold a convention this year, the Milwaukee City Central Committee take this occasion, to put themselves on record as being unalterably opposed to the holding of a convention this year, believing

That it would entail expenses which the movement can ill afford in its present state of development, and further

That such convention could not but prove disappointing in its unrepresentative character, because of the financial inability of branches to be properly represented and therefore

Resolved, that the Social Democratic Party of America meet in convention in May, 1900, to nominate a national ticket and to transact such other business as may come before it.

THOS. C. P. MYERS,

Chairman.

EUGENE H. ROONEY,

Secretary.

Linton's Amendment.

At a meeting of Linton Branch, March 19th, it was unanimously agreed to submit the following amendment or substitute for Sec. 12 of the constitution: "Sec. 12. The revenue of this organization shall be derived from an admission fee of ten (10) cents and a monthly per capita tax of five (5) cents per member payable monthly in advance."

In the opinion of members of the Branch the adoption of the above, so far from decreasing receipts, would largely increase our membership and increase our receipts, for we find that the cost of membership is the greatest obstacle in the way of swelling our membership roll. Remember comrades, that it is the men and their votes that we need and let us do all that we can consistently do to get them. Put down the bars and roll up the membership list.

Dan.

Joint meetings of Branches in cities where they can be held conveniently are promotive of much good in the organization. One was recently held by the Branches at Baltimore and resulted in mutual benefit to all comrades present, infusing new zeal into the ranks for the local campaign struggle in which they are engaged.

A special meeting of the 4th Ass. District (New York), Branch 10, S. D. P., will be held on Wednesday, March 29th, at 8 p. m., at 107 Henry street. All are requested to attend. Our regular meetings will hereafter take place every second and fourth Wednesday in the month.

N. ROSENAUER, Secretary.

Our clubbing rate for THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason to one address is 70 cents a year.

Carey at Winchester.

Several comrades have asked me what really did take place at Winchester when Comrade Carey spoke there a couple of weeks ago. I am happy to be able to answer fully as I happened to be present at the meeting.

In the first place, the meeting was one of a series arranged by the Young Men's Christian Association of Winchester, and not by the S. D. P. at all. The subject of the first meeting of the series was "The Social Problem;" at the second "The Relation of Christianity to Socialism," which was discussed by Comrade W. P. Porter. The subject assigned to Comrade Carey for his lecture was Social Evolution, and this was announced in the local papers, on posters, on flyers, and on the big bulletin board in front of the Y. M. C. A. hall. If anyone's intellect was of such an order as to lead him to believe that under this head he should hear a discussion of political party differences, he is to be pitied and not blamed.

In the second place Comrade Carey wanted to get back to Boston the same night because he was ill with a severe cold and sore throat. He mentioned this fact to the committee who at once volunteered to close the meeting at 9:30 and allow him to catch the 9:45 train. When he began his address he spoke with difficulty, and it was a question to some of us whether he would be able to finish; but he warmed up to his subject as he went along, and treated it ably and lucidly for about an hour. When he concluded the chairman gave permission to the audience to ask questions of the speaker on the subject of the lecture, viz., Social Evolution. At the two previous meetings a disturbance had been caused by some anti-Socialists who insisted upon forcing their peculiar personal views on party politics, upon the unwilling audience, at meetings which were not of a political nature. On this occasion the committee decided to permit questions only upon condition that they should be confined to the subject of the lecture, hoping thereby to prevent a recurrence of the former disturbances. The chairman of the meeting, by the way, was the local superintendent of schools, a man of coolness and decision of character, who is accustomed to having his rulings obeyed. Several questions were asked in direct violation of his ruling, and he promptly barred them, stating explicitly that the speaker had expressed his perfect willingness to answer any and all questions, and that it was his own (the chairman's) wish and intention that political differences should not be brought into the discussion.

Some of the questions brought Comrade Carey to his feet with blood in his eye, his illness all forgotten, but the relentless chairman peremptorily waved him to his seat and declared the questions not allowable. Finally after about half an hour of this, in the midst of another "question" in which Comrade Carey was referred to in no very flattering terms, a clergyman in the audience, who was also a member of the committee, arose and indignantly declared: "This is not common decency! Mr. Carey is here as the guest of this association and as such shall be protected from insult," proceeded with some commendatory remarks about the speaker's able and logical presentation of his subject, and his courteous bearing throughout the whole proceedings, and moved to adjourn the meeting, which was done.

Much more might be said, but probably wouldn't be printed, and so I refrain.

M. H.

Says Gen. Ludlow, military governor of Havana: "Unless the sugar can be planted within three weeks there will be no crop for two years, and the resources of the island will be cut off. There is no use temporizing any longer. The Cuban army must be disbanded immediately and the men compelled to go home and put in the crops. If they do not obey, but leave their plantations and turn brigands, as has been threatened, then let them be shot."

St. Louis Notes.

First Ward Branch has been hustling for the certificates and the campaign fund and bids fair to make the comrades of the Tenth Ward move lively to hold their record as the banner S. D. ward of St. Louis.

Second Ward Branch held an agitation meeting March 13, at Social Turner hall which was well attended and a number of recruits were enrolled. A number of comrades from the 17th, 18th and 19th wards were present and arranged details for branch organizations in these wards.

Third Ward Branch at meeting of March 13th elected a committee to revise the membership list for transmission to National Headquarters. The question of an active participation of the branch in the Commune Celebration, March 19th at Druids hall was considered and the rushing of certificates for signatures was urged. Wm. M. Branch was elected to membership.

Sixth Ward Branch was organized March 8th at 1031 S. 13th st. Although late in organizing the branch will make a record for the party in that ward.

Ninth Ward Branch held a mass meeting at Haldemann's hall, 7th and Arsenal sts. March 5th. Comrades Smith, Putnam and Franz were the speakers. The Branch met March 14th at their new hall and arranged for systematic agitation in the several precincts with the new campaign leaflets.

Tenth Ward Branch held meeting March 12th and made final arrangements for their mass meeting at Vitt's hall, Keokuk and South Broadway, March 19th.

Twelfth Ward Branch held a mass meeting at Bohemian National Hall, March 5th. Comrades Smith, Putnam and Hoehn were the speakers.

Twenty-sixth Ward Branch held an interesting meeting March 4th, which was fairly well attended. Comrade Smith delivered an address. This branch is doing effective propaganda work.

Sunday evening, March 5th, Comrade Anna F. Smith delivered her second lecture before the Church of Spiritual Unity, at Jefferson Club hall, 3000 Olive st. Her subject was "The Wastes and Immorality of the Competitive System." The audience was large and appreciative. The title of her previous lecture before the same organization was "Why Spiritualists should be Socialists." Comrade Smith has been tendered a reception by a member of this organization, Mrs. John P. Kershaw, at her residence, 915 N. Compton ave.

A grand rally of all the branches was held March 10th at Bohemian National Hall. Comrades Smith, Gebelein and Sanderson being the speakers. Considerable enthusiasm was aroused, and liberal contributions to the campaign fund were received.

March 18th at Druids Hall the comrades celebrated the Paris Commune of 1871, with a grand festival. The attendance, notwithstanding bad weather, was large and a well selected program was rendered. Comrade A. S. Edwards, editor of THE HERALD, delivered a stirring address on the time and significance of the Paris Commune. He was followed by Comrade G. A. Hoehn who treated the same subject in German. Comrades A. F. Smith and E. Val. Putnam were also on the program with a declamation and a recitation.

The certificates of nomination for the candidates for the City Council, the Board of Education, and the House of Delegates, have been filed, and it is now in order for all the holders of campaign subscription lists to collect as large a fund as possible for the expenses of the campaign. Every Ward Branch and every precinct committee is expected to do its full duty. Our campaign leaflets are a new departure from the former style, and, in the hands of energetic comrades, are capable of making numerous adherents for our cause. Now, Comrades of St. Louis, let us make a record right here for the S. D. P. that will set a lively pace for the Mississippi Valley and the Great West.

Yours for organization and victory
ALBERT E. SANDERSON,
Secretary City Central Committee.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES.

NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at _____, County of _____, shall be known as Local Branch No. _____ of the Social Democratic Party of America and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred members, _____ members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

Sec. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

Sec. 6. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local branch may determine, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 14. Any member of the board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the Board shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March, the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

JURISDICTION.

Sec. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine, provided they do not conflict with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

TRIALS.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch, provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing by a member in good standing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the state, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

AMENDMENTS.

Sec. 23. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of five per cent. of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum, and a majority vote shall determine the result.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The definitions of the two words "Social" and "Democratic" which follow, are taken from Webster's Dictionary:

SOCIAL—Pertaining to society or to the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, etc.

DEMOCRATIC—Pertaining to Democracy; i. e., Movement by the people * * * in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people collectively, or in which the people exercise the power of legislation.

65 SOCIALISTS and reformers—Biographical sketches of German, English and American leaders—Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, Ruskin, Morris, Hyndman, Blatchford, Bellamy, Gronlund, Casson, Wayland, Stetson, Sprague, Vail, Debs, Carey, Edwards, Gordon, Berger and others, with 43 Photo Engravings. A souvenir handbook, 50 pages, 8x11. While they last will mail at 50 cents per copy if you mention the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, CHAS. R. MARTIN, Box, 339, Tiffin Ohio.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

IN his work on the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Frederick Engels sums up the course of the class struggle, its several successive stages and the significance of each in the development of production in the following clear manner:

I. **MEDIEVAL SOCIETY.**—Small individual production. Means of production adapted to individual use; thence primitively inefficient and paltry, and dwarfish in their results. Production for the immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only there, where an excess of production over consumption takes place, is that excess offered for sale and falls into exchange. The production of "commodity" is in its incipency; but already it contains in embryo the ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE.

II. **CAPITALIST REVOLUTION.**—Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production—a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The CAPITALIST makes his appearance.

In his capacity of owner of the means of production, he appropriates the products also, and turns them into "commodities." Production has become a social act. Exchange, and, together with it, appropriation remain individual acts, acts of the individual. THE SOCIAL PRODUCTS ARE APPROPRIATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST. This is the fundamental contradiction from which arise all the contradictions in which present society moves and which production in gross brings to light:

A.—Severance of the producers from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to life-long wage-labor. CONTRAST BETWEEN PROLETARIAT AND CAPITALIST CLASS.

B.—Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws that govern the production of commodities. Unbridled competitive struggle. Contradiction between social organization in the separate factories, and social anarchy in production at large.

C.—On the one hand, perfection of machinery made by competition compulsory upon every individual manufacturer, and equivalent with ever increasing displacement of labor—the industrial RESERVE ARMY. On the other hand, boundless expansion and production, equally a compulsory law of competition to every manufacturer. On both hands unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, decennial crises, the vicious circle: here, a superabundance of products and means of production; yonder, a superabundance of workingmen without employment and without means of existence. But these two forces of production and social well-being cannot combine because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive powers from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents from being done. The contradiction has become an absurdity; THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE. The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

D.—Partial recognition of the social character of the powers of production forced upon the capitalists themselves. Appropriation of the large organism of production and communication and transportation, first by stock COMPANIES, next by the STATE. The capitalist class shows itself to be superfluous; all its social functions are performed by hired employees.

III. **PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.**—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and, with its aid, turns the power

of production, that have been slipping from the hands of the capitalist class, into public property. By this act it frees the means of production from their previous capitalist quality, and gives their social character full freedom to assert itself. Thenceforth, social production upon a pre-determined plan becomes possible. The development of production makes the continuance of several social classes an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in the production of society disappears, the political authority of the state becomes dormant. Man, finally master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time lord over nature—lord over himself—in short, free. To accomplish this work of universal emancipation is the historic mission of the modern proletariat. To investigate its historic conditions, thereby its nature itself, and thus to impart a consciousness of its own motion to that class that, oppressed to-day, is called upon to do the act—that is the task of the theoretic expression of the movement of the proletariat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Many persons whose sympathies are with the cause of Socialism are heard to say that while they believe in it, it will never win. This is said without a knowledge of its growing power in the world. Below will be found the Socialist vote in those countries where the people have the elective franchise. A study of these figures should put faith and courage into all who believe in Socialism but say "it cannot win." The fact is that it is winning, its development is truly remarkable. Outside the countries named the movement is growing in like proportions.

AUSTRIA.

1895..... 90,000
1897..... 750,000

BELGIUM.

1894..... 334,500
1898..... 534,324

DENMARK.

1872..... 315
1884..... 6,805
1887..... 8,408
1890..... 17,232
1892..... 20,098
1895..... 25,019
1898..... 32,000

FRANCE.

1885..... 30,000
1888..... 91,000
1893..... 590,000
1898..... 1,000,000

GERMANY.

1867..... 30,000
1871..... 101,927
1874..... 351,670
1877..... 486,843
1878..... 437,158
1881..... 311,961
1884..... 599,990
1887..... 763,128
1890..... 1,427,298
1893..... 1,786,738
1898..... 2,125,000

GREAT BRITAIN.

1895..... 55,000

ITALY.

1893..... 20,000
1895..... 76,400
1897..... 134,496

SERVIA.

1895..... 50,000

SPAIN.

1893..... 7,000
1895..... 14,800
1897..... 28,000

SWITZERLAND.

1890..... 13,500
1893..... 29,822
1896..... 36,468

UNITED STATES.

1890..... 13,704
1891..... 16,552
1892..... 21,512
1893..... 25,666
1894..... 30,020
1895..... 34,869
1896..... 36,275
1897..... 55,550
1898..... 91,749

TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.
1898..... 5,000,000

LABOR

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The trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

—Social Democratic Party Platform

Social Democratic Party of America.

Organized June 11, 1898.

OBJECT.—The Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution, through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

Social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the Executive Board may decide upon.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Section 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

1st. Local branches limited to 100 members each.

2d. State Unions before state convention of 1900 shall be composed of one representative from each local branch; provided that branches having more than twenty-five members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional twenty-five members or major part thereof, after which each state shall provide its own method of organization.

3d. A National Council composed of one representative from each state and territory; provided that states having more than 500 members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional 500 members or major part thereof.

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall be elected quadrennially by the National Council; having general supervision of the organization and be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Section 4. A National Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the national organ (and such other officers as may be required) shall be elected every four years, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Committee to be approved by the direct vote of the members through the referendum.

Section 5. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each year, and such special meetings as may be required.

Section 6. A majority of the board shall constitute a quorum.

Section 7. Any member of the board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members of the organization as hereinafter provided.

Section 8. Any member of the board, or national officer may be removed at any time by the National Council as hereinafter provided.

Section 9. No member shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Section 10. All questions not provided for in this constitution and all questions of appeal shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the board.

Section 11. At each annual meeting the officers of the board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Section 12. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents and dues of twenty-five cents, payable quarterly in advance for each member.

Section 13. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Section 14. The National Council shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine, subject to change by referendum vote. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations.

Section 15. The National Council shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to enact all general legislation, subject to referendum hereinafter provided. It shall determine the policy, and do all other things required to carry out the general objects of the organization.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Section 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the Executive Board, which shall be known as the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Section 17. The columns of the official organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

Section 18. The national conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially on the first Tuesday in May, at such place as may be determined by the National Council.

REFERENDUM.

Section 19. The members of the Executive Board may be removed by the imperative mandate in the following manner: Any three members of the National Council may demand the resignation of any member of the National Executive Board, by filing a petition with the secretary of said Executive Committee; and upon said secretary's neglect or refusal to act upon said petition within five days after filing the same, then by filing a petition with the chairman of the said Executive Board; and upon the said chairman's neglect or refusal to act, by filing such petition with three members of the National Council, other than the petitioners, who shall act as a committee for the purpose of receiving and acting as herein provided. Such petition shall contain a statement in writing setting forth fully and at large the grounds upon which the recall is demanded. Such officers or committee with whom such petition is filed shall forthwith deliver a copy thereof to the person whose recall is demanded, if such person can be found; and said person shall have the right to answer such petition in writing, which said answer shall be mailed by registered letter to the officer or committee holding said petition within fifteen (15) days from the receipt by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be delivered to him.

The petitioners shall be served forthwith by registered letter from the officer or committee holding the petition with a copy of said answer, and such petitioners shall have the right to file, with such officer or committee, a replication to such answer within ten (10) days after receipt of such copy.

Thereupon the said officer or committee holding said petition shall mail a complete copy of the proceedings to the person whose recall is sought, and five (5) days thereafter said officer or committee shall mail to each member of the National Council a complete copy of all the proceedings and shall demand a vote of each member of the National Council thereon.

All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times.

The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication.

Recall of a member of the Executive Committee shall not affect the standing of such member as a member of the National Council.

RECALL OF OFFICERS.

Section 20. The selection of the National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or rejection in the official organ, the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, within fifteen days from the selection of said officers, and each member

shall have a vote thereon to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be announced in the official paper and the polls shall close 20 days after the date calling for the referendum.

Section 21. The National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed or discharged by the National Council or the Executive Board, but if the said national officers shall be so removed or discharged, they may appeal the case to the members of the organization by stating the grounds of protest, serving a copy on the chairman and secretary of the National Council and the Executive Board, the same not to occupy more than two columns of the official paper, an equal space to be given the Council or Executive to state their side of the controversy; the votes shall be mailed to any member of the Council or Executive Board the petitioner may designate; the petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots, and the polls shall close 20 days after the date of the publication of the referendum.

Section 22. The question shall be: "Shall the action of the Executive Board (or the National Council as the case may be) be sustained?" and if the vote of the members does not confirm the action, the petitioner shall then be reinstated.

Section 23. The National Executive Board (or any member of it), the National Secretary-Treasurer, or the Editor may be removed by the members of the organization in the following manner: A petition endorsed by five per cent. of the members shall be filed with the chairman of the Executive Board, who shall cause the same to be submitted to a referendum vote within 10 days; should said chairman fail to do this, then any five branches, by official action at a regular meeting, shall have power to call for said vote and the same, after due hearing of both sides as provided in section 21, shall be taken.

CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNIONS.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the ——— State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located as the union may determine.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Sec. 2. The ——— State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America shall consist of delegates representing local branches in this state, and shall constitute the legislative body of the state.

Sec. 3. The Executive Board shall consist of five members and shall have general supervision of the State Union. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and for their services shall receive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The Board shall hold stated meetings in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Sec. 5. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 6. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The Board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies.

Sec. 7. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the State Union.

Sec. 8. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 9. All questions not provided for in the constitution, and all questions of appeal from local branches, shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Sec. 10. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES.

Sec. 11. The revenues of the organization shall be derived from such sources as the State Union may determine.

THE STATE UNION.

Sec. 12. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April. The chairman of the Executive

Board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

Sec. 13. At each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected, who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Sec. 14. The State Union shall enact such laws as may be necessary, determine the policy of the state organizations and do all other things required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action is taken inconsistent with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

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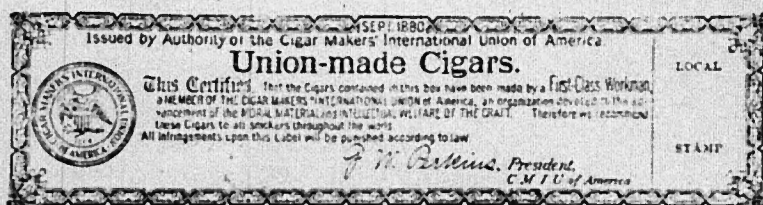
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WORLD OF LABOR.

INTERNATIONAL.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

The situation in this country is very serious indeed. Day after day the liberties of the people are outraged and all justice is thrown to the winds in order to surround the Emperor with an atmosphere of more than Byzantine servility. Men are thrown into goal for long terms on grounds which even in Russia would be considered quite insufficient. The detraction of Majesty has become a crime of the first magnitude to be punished with the utmost rigor, and the most innocent utterances are the cause of shameful persecution. Where Social Democrats are concerned not the slightest regard is paid to law or equity. They may be, as in a case just decided, manifestly the aggrieved parties. But what of that? They are Social Democrats. Therefore, off they go to prison, some for ten years, some for five years, others for less terms of punishment.

BRUSSELS, BELGIUM.

The new Socialist headquarters, known as Maison du Peuple (The People's House) will be dedicated on April 2. The new magnificent building costs nearly two million francs—about \$400,000—and besides stores, coffee rooms, reading rooms, smaller meeting halls, etc. it also contains a large hall with seats for about 4000 people. The Social Democratic Party of Belgium feels proud of this latest achievement of co-operation. (Such things, of course, are only possible in little pauperized Belgium; in the wealthy and prosperous country of Mark Hanna the workmen are too well-to-do to dream of any such Socialist schemes—!)

BRISBANE, AUSTRALIA.

An Early Closing Act came into operation in Western Australia on January 1. At present it applies only to metropolitan and municipal areas, but its scope may be extended by proclamation. All the shops, save the exempted ones, must not open earlier than eight on weekdays and must close at six, except on Wednesdays and Saturdays, when they may keep open till ten. A weekly half-holiday is compulsory, except in such weeks when public holidays are proclaimed. The exempted shops include chemists, refreshments, confectioners, tobacconists, news-agents, booksellers, florists, butchers and restaurants.

FUERTH, GERMANY.

In this city the employers in the glass industry have decided that any employee who of his own free will stops work without satisfactory reason, shall not be allowed to start again for six weeks, and any employee who leaves a situation to better himself, or who makes himself disagreeable to the manager, is to be sentenced to a six weeks' hunger cure; presumably that he may learn to dance while the glass manufacturers whistle. The glass-workers have held meetings to protest against these restrictions.

ERFURT, GERMANY.

Henry Schultz, editor of a Social Democratic newspaper, has been sentenced to nine months' imprisonment at Erfurt for lese majeste. Comrade Schultz, on Christmas Day last, published an article entitled "Peace on Earth," in which militarism, the expulsions from North Schleswig, and certain recent speeches of the Kaiser were sharply criticised.

ROME, ITALY.

The Socialists of Italy are more active to-day than ever before. Meetings and demonstrations are held everywhere. Socialist groups and trades unions are organized and the Socialist press is gaining new ground every day. Comrade Turati is still imprisoned, but there are good reasons to believe that he may soon be on the battlefield of labor again.

BASEL, SWITZERLAND.

The Federation of Labor of Switzerland has a membership of

15,000. Outside of this federation there are many unions not yet affiliated with this body. In 1887 the Federation comprised 56 unions, to-day 322 are affiliated with it.

THE HAGUE, HOLLAND.

The Social Democratic Party of Holland proposes to arrange for a grand international peace demonstration in this city during the Czar's disarmament conference. Socialist leaders of Germany, France, England and Austria will attend the Socialist demonstration.

KARLSRUHE, GERMANY.

The Social Democratic weekly paper Volksfreund will appear as a daily organ by the first of April. This will be a great gain for the Social Democratic movement in this city.

MADRID, SPAIN.

Our Social Democratic organ El Socialista reports that there are over 3000 textile workers out on strike in the city of Manillen.

THE ROSTRUM.

(CONCLUDED FROM PAGE ONE.)

common ownership of land system a fact; also that the people shall control all means of production and distribution. No man has a right to own anything that gives him power over another man. Everything is the product of society by combined effort, and those who produce should reap the benefit. We are all specialists making a part that goes to form the whole product, and the question is how we are going to get what is due us from what we do for the common good. The Social Democracy presents a solution of the problem. Mr. Putney explained the planks in the platform of the party and discussed the views of other branches of Socialism, saying that the anarchistic sentiment is not fostered in Social Democracy.

The speaker said that what the wage earners want is to put a stop to the opportunity for lazy people to live on what they produce and earn, and believes they can bring about the greatest revolution the world ever knew, the abolition of capitalism. He thought the evolution of trusts will in the end bring about their own death, forcing the co-operative commonwealth into existence. He stated the co-operative plan means much to woman, the slave of a slave, for it will put an end to drudgery. He implored all who want what is right and just to support the Social Democratic party.

TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY.

Corruption and its brood of unnumbered evils is the bastard of the union of rotten selfishness with the shameless caricature of popular liberties. Civic pride and virtue must be more precious in a true democracy than gold or silver. How far democracy can continue if economic independence is more and more rendered illusory by the pressure of competitive industrialism is a very serious problem. They are not few who prophesy that popular government is bound to be a failure unless the people as a whole enjoy economic independence. Industrial slavery is at all events a sorry frame wherein to exhibit the beauties of political liberty.—Rabbi Hirsch, Chicago.

Socialists Armed with Facts.

"Well," said the colored man, "there's one thing about the Socialists that you don't find in the other parties—they don't have to put up a forgery every breath they draw. Near my house last fall, before the election, the different parties had stands for electioneering speeches. I went round to them all. The republicans and democrats couldn't go a straight five-minute heat without saying four or five things that I knew wasn't so—about a lie a minute. Then, one night, I went over to the Socialist meeting. There it was different. Not a word was said but what I knew was so. I'm a democrat, but the Socialists can't be downed; they're traveling with a peck of facts."

Women clerks working in Burlington, Vt., for a wage so low that it leaves them only 25 cents a week after paying board.

St. Louis Platform.

The following is the municipal platform upon which our St. Louis comrades are making their canvass for the spring election:

1. The acquisition by the municipality of the public utilities, such as street railways, gas and electric light plants, and all other utilities requiring a franchise, the same to be operated under strict civil service rules.
2. The abolition of the contract system on all public works.
3. The eight-hour workday on all municipal work, with a minimum wage of \$2 per day.
4. That the full power of the municipality be exercised for the relief of the unemployed, by the establishment of public work for their employment.
5. That the burden of taxation be distributed in exact proportion to the holdings of each citizen.
6. That the municipality shall furnish books free to all children in the public schools, also meals and clothing to children of school age, when necessary, to enable them to attend school.
7. That the city shall establish and maintain public lodging houses with all the modern improvements, of using the police stations as resting places for the homeless poor.
8. The attention of the people having been called by the public press to the miserable inadequate facilities at the City Hospital, showing the need of immediate improvement, therefore we demand in the name of humanity:
9. The construction of suitable hospital buildings, with the best modern improvements and appliances.
10. We demand workshop and factory inspection for the health and safety of the employes.
11. We demand, in the interests of the public welfare, a rigid system of food, milk and dairy inspection.
12. We demand that the municipal legislature make the necessary appropriation to carry out the ordinance passed by it years ago for the establishment of public bath houses.
13. We favor the erection of a suitable building for our Public Library.
14. We demand the adoption of the principles of the initiative and referendum, and proportional representation.
15. We demand that all officers be subject to recall by their respective constituencies.
16. We demand that the city charter be so amended that no property qualification shall be required for the holding of any public office.
17. We condemn the employment of children under fourteen years of age in store, factory or workshop.

Where Trades Unionists will find the S. D. P.

The trades union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

—Social Democratic Party Platform

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